

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW-YORK

STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

ON ITS

FIRST ANNIVERSARY ;

TOGETHER WITH

AN ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC,

FROM THE

MANAGERS THEREOF.

ALBANY :

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1830.

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anti-slavery collection

Form of a Constitution for an Auxiliary Society.

1st. This Society shall be called ———, and shall be auxiliary to the New-York State Colonization Society.

2d. The object to which it shall be exclusively devoted, shall be to aid the parent Institution at Washington, in the Colonization of the Free People of Colour of the United States on the coast of Africa—and to do this not only by the contribution of money, but by the exertion of its influence to promote the formation of other Societies.

3d. An annual subscription of ——— shall constitute an individual a member of this Society; and the payment at any one time, of ——— a member for life.

4th. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, and ——— Managers; Secretary and Treasurer, to be elected annually by the Society.

5th. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer, shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Managers.

6th. The Board of Managers shall meet to transact the business of the Society —.

7th. The Treasurer shall keep the accounts of the Society, as well as take charge of its funds, and hold them subject to an order of the Board of Managers.

8th. The Secretary of the Society shall conduct the correspondence, under the direction of the Board of Managers, both with the State and other Societies.

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New-York State Colonization Society.

THE NEW-YORK STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY held its first Anniversary Meeting at the Capitol, in the city of Albany, on Friday the 2d of April, 1830.

The President of the Society, Chief Justice **SAVAGE**, being absent from the city, the chair was taken at 7 o'clock, P. M. by the Hon. **NATHANIEL P. TALLMADGE**, one of the Vice-Presidents.

The minutes of the meetings held on the 9th and 11th days of April, 1829, for the purpose of organising the Society, were then read by the Secretary.

B. F. BUTLER, Esq. in behalf of the Board of Managers, stated, that instead of making a formal report, the Managers had requested him to communicate to the meeting a brief account of the proceedings of the Board during the last year. After stating those proceedings, Mr. B. gave a succinct account of the operations of the parent Society, during the same period—of which the following is a brief sketch. At the close of the year 1828, the Society had appointed Dr. **RICHARD RANDALL**—for several years an active member of the Board of Managers—agent of the colony, to supply the place of the lamented **ASHMAN**, who had shortly before been compelled by ill-health—the result of severe and unremitted devotion to the duties of his station—to return to his native land, the shores of which he had reached barely in season to make them the repository of his ashes. During the interval between his departure and the arrival of Dr. Randall, another irreparable loss had been sustained in the death, by a distressing casualty, of **LOT CAREY**—a coloured man of great ability and worth, on whom the duties of the agency had devolved. Notwithstanding these inauspicious occurrences, the affairs of the colony were found by Dr. Randall in December, 1828, in a prosperous condition. He entered on the duties of his office, with that activity and enthusiasm which were anticipated by those who appointed him; passed in safety thro'

the sickness by which emigrants are usually visited ; and discharged for about four months, with distinguished ability, the duties of his office. An imprudent exposure to the heat of the sun, in April, 1829, brought on an inflammation of the brain, from which he would probably have recovered, had he not repeatedly exposed himself to relapses, which finally proved fatal. His death was deeply to be regretted ; but under the circumstances there was nothing in it to alarm the friends of colonization. It had been ascertained by experience, that the climate of Liberia, was not more dangerous to emigrants than the climate of some of our southern ports to visitors from the north ; that the sickness usually incident to them on their arrival, is not often fatal ; and that the descendants of Africans soon become acclimated and healthful. The place of Dr. Randall had been supplied by the appointment of Dr. **JOSEPH MECHLIN**, who had for sometime been connected with the colony as its surgeon and assistant agent.

Mr. B. stated that he was not acquainted with the precise amount of funds received during the last year by the parent Society ; there was however one most liberal donation which ought not to pass unnoticed—he alluded to the generous and most seasonable aid offered by the ladies of Baltimore, who raised by a fair in December last, upwards of \$2500 for this object. He confidently hoped that this noble example would be followed in many parts of the Union during the present year.

Having been obliged to apply a considerable portion of the receipts of 1829 to the payment of debts contracted in former years, the Society had only been able to send out one vessel during the last year. This was the ship Harriet, which sailed in February and arrived in March, 1829, with 155 emigrants. On the 8th of January, 1830, the auxiliary Society of the state of Pennsylvania, despatched the brig Liberia with 58 emigrants. The whole expense of this expedition was defrayed by the citizens of Philadelphia. A vessel however is now in preparation, under the direction of the board of managers of the parent Society, which is expected to sail during the present month, with a large number of colonists.

Mr. B. said that the present condition and progress of the colony were calculated to gratify the best wishes, and to encourage the best hopes, of the friends of humanity.

It possesses a territory extending about 200 miles along the coast, and for an indefinite extent into the interior; the whole of which has been acquired by fair and honorable purchase from the natives. The climate, to descendants of Africans, is healthy and favorable; and the soil is almost unrivalled in fertility, and in the variety and value of its productions.* The population exceeds 1500, of whom thirteen or fourteen hundred reside in the village of MONROVIA, and the residue in three or four neighboring settlements. They reside in comfortable houses; each family has a sufficient quantity of land assigned to it, to furnish, with moderate labor and attention, the means of subsistence. The trade of the colony has already begun to be important. A profitable traffic is carried on with the natives; six or eight vessels of different sizes, owned by the colonists, are employed in the coasting trade; and the exports of coffee and other articles during the year 1828, amounted to more than \$70,000.

There are several churches (for with our common christianity they have carried with them our diversities of sentiment on religious subjects) and other public edifices—a Lancasterian school in which all the children belonging to the colony, and nearly an hundred from the native tribes, are successfully instructed—a printing press and newspaper—a reading room

* The different species of domestic animals, and the various products now rearing in the colony, and which cannot hereafter be wanting, unless through the inexcusable negligence and indolence of the settlers, are as follows: Of animals—horses, cattle in abundance, sheep, goats in abundance, asses are lately introduced, fowls, ducks, geese, guinea fowls, swine numerous—fish no where found in greater quantities. Fruits are plantains, bananas, in endless abundance, limes, lemons, tamarinds, oranges, sousop, cashew, mangoe, 20 varieties of the prune, guava, papaw, pine apple, grape, tropical peach and cherry. Vegetables are sweet potatoe, cassada, yams, cocoa, ground-nuts, arrow-root, egg-plant, ocre, every variety of beans, and most sorts of peas, cucumbers, pumpkins.—Grains are rice, the staple—Indian corn, coffee excellent and abundant—Pepper of three varieties, of which each is equal to Cayenne—Millet and Guinea corn—Cotton, staple good, but not yet cultivated. To these may be added indigo, which, it is thought, may be raised to advantage, and the sugar cane, which may, and doubtless will, ultimately receive attention.

and a library. They have courts of justice ; and a well trained militia. The town is also defended by a strong fort of masonry, amply provided with cannon and other means of defence. They enjoy, and it would seem appreciate, the free institutions of the country they have left ; all the officers except the agent and his assistants being chosen by themselves. Dr. Mechlin, the agent, remarks of the election of 1829, "that it was conducted in a manner highly creditable to the inhabitants, though it was very warmly contested. Indeed it reminded me of the United States, both as regards the violence of party spirit exhibited there on similar occasions, and the implicit obedience to the will of the majority after the result was made known."

The institutions of freedom, civilization and christianity, had thus been planted by the hand of benevolence, on the coast of Africa. The influence of the colony on the surrounding country, was constantly extending itself ; the advantages it conferred might be judged of by the fact before stated, that nearly one hundred children had been sent by the barbarous inhabitants of the interior to be instructed in Liberia. It continued also to exert a most active agency in the suppression of the slave trade—an enormity still practised by christian nations, in defiance of treaties and in contempt of religion and humanity, and which all experience had shown was only to be suppressed by planting on the coast barriers against it.

In view of what had already been accomplished for Africa by the American Colonization Society, and of the blessings it promised to confer, not only on that continent, but on our own country, Mr. B. felt himself justified in saying; that of all the benevolent enterprises which reflect glory on this age, there was no one more justly entitled to the patronage of the philanthropist or the patriot, than this Society. Its influence on domestic slavery in the United States, was most salutary. Interfering in no way with the rights or the policy of the states—making no appeals to sectional feeling—and using no language but that of reason and humanity—the Society has secured the con-

fluence of enlightened men in every quarter of the union ; and without soliciting or even recommending manumission, it has already done more to promote in the southern states the emancipation of slaves, than had been accomplished by all the efforts made with direct reference to such a result, since the revolution. In proof of this, Mr. B. mentioned, that the report of every auxiliary Society in the south, testified to the willingness of many planters to emancipate their slaves as soon as facilities could be afforded for their departure ; and that of the emigrants by the Harriet, which sailed in February, 1829, between 40 and 50 were slaves, liberated by less than half a dozen individuals--18 by one person and 15 by another. Of the 58 persons sent from Philadelphia in January last, 49 were liberated slaves, and a few days after her departure, 30, who had been emancipated by one individual, Joel Early, Esq. of Georgia, arrived at Norfolk, from which place they will be sent in the next vessel to be dispatched.

Mr. B. said he could not avoid adding, that great interest was felt throughout the civilized world for the success of this enterprize. Of this, a most interesting and impressive proof had recently been given, in the arrival of Mr. Sessing, and three other missionaries from Basle in Switzerland, who had voluntarily devoted themselves to the service of the colony and of the tribes in its vicinity, and two of whom had already sailed for Africa. If such was the ardor of those who had no other interest in this cause, than that excited by christian duty and a generous philanthropy, what should be the measure of our exertions in its behalf, identified as it is with the strength, the prosperity, and the honor of our Republic ?

The following resolution, offered by JOHN A. DIX, Esq. of Cooperstown, Otsego county, and seconded by ALONZO F. PAIGE, Esq. of Schenectady, was unanimously adopted :

“ *Resolved*, That the Board of Managers be requested to cause such information to be disseminated in relation to the plan of colonizing the free blacks of the United States in Africa, and to adopt such measures as they may deem best calculated to promote the formation of auxiliary Societies in the different counties in this state.”

In support of this resolution, Mr. Dix addressed to the Society the following remarks :—

In advocating the adoption of this resolution, Mr. Dix said, it was not his intention to enter into a regular discussion of the great subject of African Colonization, but merely to touch upon particular questions relating to it. The able and eloquent examination, which the whole subject received at the organization of this Society, had left scarcely a leading topic to be illustrated or an argument to be supplied. In enlarging, however, upon some of the considerations presented at that time, the occasion had seemed to him a suitable one for entering also into a brief review of the efforts and progress of the American Colonization Society ; and in doing so, said Mr. D. I cannot forbear to congratulate this assembly, that a preliminary question—the practicability of settlement upon the African coast by emigration from the United States—can no longer be drawn into controversy. In the settlement of this question, the most formidable obstacle to the accomplishment of the objects of the Society has been removed : It has united to us many, who, under different circumstances, would now be contending against us ; and it has doubly augmented our strength by breaking the force of prejudice, and by narrowing the field of argument, which it is our business and our duty to maintain.

It may be said, without exaggeration, that the plan of Colonization thus far, has not only been successful, but that its success has been triumphant. Only seven years have elapsed since the first band of emigrants (about 80 in number) landed on the African coast. They were without shelter or protection, and almost without the supplies of subsistence necessary to sustain them until they could draw their nourishment from the earth by their own hands. Disease, the constant enemy of that enterprise which ventures upon new and untried climates ; the hostility of the native possessors of the soil, who, as it almost always happens, looked upon them with distrust and suspicion ; the scarcity of the means of subsistence ; and the innumerable difficulties in reducing to cul-

ture a soil, which human industry had never attempted, have all been encountered and overcome. A population of 1500 souls is now sustained by its own industry ; and in the year 1828, a surplus production, equal in value to \$90,000, was exported for foreign consumption. A system of laws, administered, with the assistance of three or four whites, by the colonists themselves, secures to them the same rights of person and property, and the same impartial distribution of justice, which we ourselves enjoy. Schools have been established at various points throughout the colony ; and the children of the surrounding tribes of natives, who have been buried for centuries in unmitigated darkness, are seen mingling with the colonists for the acquisition of moral and intellectual lights.

Compared with the British colony at Sierra Leone, the progress of Liberia is still more strongly marked. It has, after seven years, a population, which the former did not possess after twenty years from the date of its establishment, and in all its moral and intellectual acquisitions it is far superior to that colony, at the period to which I refer. In the capacity for extension by force of its own possessions, Liberia may be said to be almost without limit. The Society has obtained from the actual occupants of the soil, the cession of a territory unbounded in extent.

From the condition of the colony at Liberia, the transition is not an ungrateful one to the state of the Society at home. More than half the states in the Union have formed Societies auxiliary of the parent institution ; and the subordinate associations are exceedingly numerous. The current of opinion is with the institution ; and it will be borne on to the fulfilment of its objects—gradually it may be, but they are destined nevertheless to be fulfilled. If any one shall venture to draw into controversy the practicability of the scheme, it is sufficient for our purpose to insist on what we have actually accomplished. If any one shall suggest that our free blacks will not be disposed to emigrate to Liberia, it is a sufficient reply, that from the first establishment of the colony, the ap-

plications for passages have constantly exceeded the means of the Society ; that there are, at this moment, more than a thousand applications by free blacks for passages, which the Society is unable to supply ; that there are more than two thousand slaves ready to be liberated by their masters, whenever the means of their removal shall be provided ; that there are, doubtless, thousands, who are restrained from applying by the known inability of the Society to accomplish its purposes.

In promoting the emigration of the African race, whether bond or free, every state in this Union has a separate interest, as well as an interest in common with all the others ; for there is no section of the country which does not participate in some degree in the burden of its presence. In the Northern and Middle states, indeed, the pressure of the evil is at this moment more severe than in the South. We have no restraint upon free blacks, excepting that, which is contained in the general denunciation of the law against offenders. But in the South, the system of domestic servitude is a system of incessant care and vigilance, which is maintained by a co-operation of private interest with municipal regulation : it is a system, not merely of retributive, but also of preventive justice, which it is difficult either to overpower by force or to elude by artifice. The mass of crime committed by Africans is greater, in proportion to numbers, in the non-slave-holding than in the slave-holding states ; and as a general rule, the degree of comfort enjoyed by them is inferior. This is not an argument in favor of slavery ; but it is an unanswerable argument in favor of rendering emancipation and colonization co-extensive with each other. It presents to every state in the Union a powerful motive to promote the objects of the institution, of which we are an auxiliary. The South has as deep an interest in the removal of our free blacks as we have in the manumission and removal of their slaves. The different members of this confederacy are bound to each other by ties, of which we ourselves are incapable of properly estimating the force. Whatever augments or diminishes the strength of one is so much added to or drawn from the strength of all the others.

In modern times the numbers of a nation do not constitute its greatest strength, but the moral force, which it is capable of putting forth for the multiplication of its resources in peace, and for their protection in seasons of public danger. Sir, it is impossible to estimate the increase of moral power, which we should acquire, if the place of the two millions of Africans, who embarrass the operations of the body politic, could be supplied by as many free citizens, sharing our intelligence, bearing our blood, and nurtured with us in the enjoyment of a common liberty.

In every thing but the removal of our own free blacks, we are but the followers of the South in a career, which they themselves have opened to us ; and it is, indeed, a career, in which we could not well have led the way. For, although the first effect of colonization is to provide a refuge for blacks, who have been emancipated, another is to promote emancipation, and a still more remote effect to hasten the extinction of slavery itself. This, therefore, is a measure, which, in some of its leading tendencies, relates peculiarly to the South, and our co-operation can only be lent as far as it is invited. The American Society has disclaimed from the first moment of its institution, all intention of interfering with rights of property recognized by the federal compact, to which the states are parties. It contemplates no purpose of abolition : it touches no slave until his fetters have been voluntarily stricken off by the hand of his own master : it removes no free black but upon his own solicitation : all its purposes are subordinate to the rules of public law and the suggestions of private justice and humanity. But it is to the South—it is to VIRGINIA—that we are indebted for the origin of this great plan ; and we are indebted to that state at least for a co-operation in every plan which has tended to elevate the human character or to promote the interests and honor of the republic. Her voice was raised against the intrusion of slaves upon her during her colonial subjection ; and, faithful to her principles, she was the first among the Southern states in endeavoring to free herself from the incumbrance when she had risen to independence.

The subject of African colonization is full of powerful appeals to sympathy ; but it is not my intention to advert to any topics of this description. Considered as a mere measure of political economy, it has as strong a claim upon us in its tendency to hasten the extinction of slavery, as any measure which can be devised for the promotion of the productive industry of the United States. It is an opinion, as ancient as slavery itself, that the labor of bondmen is gradually destructive of the soil to which it is applied : it is only where the cultivator has an actual interest in the soil, that the care and attention necessary to perpetuate its productiveness, will be bestowed upon it. There is an account by Columella, of the condition of Roman agriculture, when it had passed from the hands of citizens into those of slaves, which is applicable to every country, in which slave labor has been employed for a length of time. Pliny refers the decline of the agriculture of Rome to the same cause—to its transfer from freemen to slaves, wearing upon their very countenances the badges of servitude :

“ *Vincti perdes, damnatae manus, inscripti vultus exercent.*”

And Tacitus, in referring to the same causes, says that Italy could not be subsisted but for supplies derived from the provinces :* Yet the territories of Rome were remarkable for their fertility and productiveness as long as they were cultivated by her own citizens. When agriculture had become degraded from an honorable pursuit to a mere menial occupation ; when the implements of husbandry had passed from the hands of Cato and Cincinnatus into those of the captives of Phrygia and Thrace ; and when, to translate the words of a Roman author, the fields of Italy resounded with the clattering of innumerable chains, Rome became dependent for the sustenance of her own citizens upon the productions of distant provinces ; and, in the language of Tacitus, the daily subsistence of the Roman people was at the mercy of winds and waves.

* “ *Nisi provinciarum copae et dominis, et servitiis et agris subvenerint.*”

The authority of antiquity is confirmed by the opinion of our own times. With a single exception,† every modern writer upon political economy asserts the superior productiveness of free labor, and the tendency of slave labor to waste and consume the fertility of the soil, to which it is applied. It has been shown conclusively that wherever free labor can be found, it is most profitable to employ it. And it would be contrary to all the deductions of reason if it were not so. The industry, which is not protected in the enjoyment of a portion of its own proceeds, cannot be so productive as that which is recompensed in proportion to its exertions. In the agricultural operations of the slave, nature is the principal laborer, and her powers soon become exhausted without the renovating care and providence of man. Whether industrious or indolent, the slave must be clothed and subsisted : let him produce as much as you will, and he is entitled to nothing more at the hands of his master. His impulses are all derived from physical causes, and these of the weakest class : he is not even stimulated by physical necessity or suffering, for these it is the interest and the care of his master to relieve. So much has the mind to do with the operations of human industry, that even in countries where, by oppressive taxation, all the proceeds of a man's labor, excepting a bare subsistence, are absorbed by his government, the labor of the freeman is far more productive than that of the slave. His condition may be no better : his supplies of clothing and subsistence may not be more abundant : he may be equally restricted in his comforts ; but he ministers to his own wants ; he does not receive his daily subsistence at the hand of a task-master ; his little surplus, whatever it be, is his own ; and he is not controlled in the application of it to his own uses.

The results of our own experience on this subject concur with the united testimony of ancient and modern times. It is impossible to pass from a state, in which slavery exists, to one in which it is prohibited, without perceiving a marked difference in the condition of the soil, and in the structures which human art has reared upon its surface. But it is not

by ocular observation alone that the truth of the difference is attested. In contiguous sections, lands of the same quality bear a different price, and the disparity is constantly increasing with the duration of the cause. It seems to be a law of slavery, that it gradually consumes and dissipates the resources of those to whom it is tributary. There are exceptions to the observation; but not in sufficient number to affect its accuracy as a general principle.

If the place of every slave in the United States could be supplied by a free laborer, the augmentation of our productive industry would be immense, and it would totally renovate the face of the country in which the exchange should take place. At the lowest calculation, there is a difference of one third in the productiveness of free and slave labor in favor of the former, independently of the gradual destruction of the powers of the soil by the latter. Free and slave labor move in opposite directions from the same point of departure; and, while one is regularly diminishing the capacity of the earth for production, the other is constantly nourishing and invigorating its powers. It is one of the consequences of this tendency of slave labor to deteriorate the properties of the earth, that it cannot reclaim what it has once exhausted. There are lands in the Northern and Middle states now exceedingly productive, which were formerly exhausted by slave labor; and so they would have continued to this day, if they had not been reclaimed by free labor. Some of the most beautiful sections of Virginia, under the operation of injudicious systems of husbandry by slaves, wears the aspect of wastes and barrens; and so will they remain until they shall be renovated by the hands of freemen. That the result is not a distant one may readily be shown. The influence of great moral causes, which are working far more momentous changes than this, would alone be sufficient to produce it. But it is destined to attend upon particular causes now in operation within our own limits—causes peculiar to the condition of the country and the state of society. Slave labor, from its inferior productiveness, cannot compete with free labor: wherever the latter appears, the for-

mer must give place to it. This principle is visible throughout the North in the abolition of slavery : the progress of emancipation has been regular towards the South : peculiarities of soil and climate have retarded its progress, but it is retarded only. In several sections of Maryland and Virginia, emigration from the Middle states has introduced a laboring class of whites ; and wherever they have appeared, slaves have given place to them. The masters find it more profitable to sell their slaves and hire free laborers. It is in this manner that freedom is constantly encroaching upon the dominion of servitude.

But there are other and mightier causes in operation, which are rapidly accelerating this result. Recent examinations have shown that, with the exception of the states of Missouri and Louisiana, we have only sufficient territory beyond the Mississippi river for four more states of the dimensions of Missouri. Farther on lies a barren waste, extending to the base of the Rocky Mountains, without wood, water, or stone ; and, therefore, unfit for the habitation of an agricultural people. This fact is not, perhaps, generally understood, but it has been satisfactorily ascertained by philosophical observers. The region referred to is as distinctive in its character as the desert of Siberia, to the descriptions of which it is said to bear a general resemblance ; and it is, probably, destined at a future day to constitute a boundary between us and our dependencies, or between us and another people, as flourishing and as powerful as ourselves. At our past rate of increase, settlement will soon press upon these limits : the vacant places within them will be filled up ; and the current of emigration, which has so long been flowing across the Alleghanies, will be poured back upon the region in which it has its source. The surplus population of the Northern and Middle states will find its way to the vacant spots in Virginia, which slavery has exhausted and abandoned : it will penetrate to the very seat of its strength, and it will gradually uproot and destroy it. In every contest, the inferior must yield to the superior power ; and who can doubt the issue, sir, when the contest shall be between brute

force and the moral force of opinion? between a class, whose impulses are all derived from physical causes; and another class, whose incentives to exertion are derived from the mind itself? Slavery will cease to be profitable; and, when this shall happen, slaves will cease to be cherished by their possessors. They may be emancipated; but emancipation cannot elevate their condition or augment their capacity for self-preservation. Want and suffering will gradually diminish their numbers, and they will disappear, as the inferior has always disappeared, before the superior race. The fate of the African is as certain as that of the original possessors of the soil, upon which we stand; but there will be no heroism or dignity in his fall: his struggles will be with the arts, not the arms, of his oppressors: he will leave nothing behind him but the history of his sufferings and his degradation, to challenge the remembrance or the sympathy of after times.

Colonization is the only expedient, by which these evils can even be mitigated. We may prevent the increase of the African race within our limits: we may provide for them a refuge, to which they may flee, when their presence shall be useless to us, and their condition here intolerable to themselves: we may substitute removal for extinction; and by our own providence we may enable many, perhaps the mass, to escape what would otherwise be their inevitable fate.

But it is not merely because slavery is an impediment to the developement of our national resources, that its presence among us is to be deplored. It is an impediment also to an assertion of the rank which we claim to hold among the advocates of the rights of man. It may not put at hazard the success of the great experiment which we are carrying on of the competency of mankind to self-government; for it is not inconsistent with its success that he, who is fitted for freedom, should hold in bondage his fellow man. But it involves, unquestionably, a denial of the fundamental doctrine of our political institutions, that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are natural and inalienable rights. It is a degradation of the tenure of freedom, from a principle above all human

law, to the principle of brute force—the principle, from which despotism itself derives its title. It may not impair the stability of our free institutions ; but it impairs our influence in promoting the diffusion of their principles. For, who shall be bound to attend to the assertion of rights by us, which we refuse to recognize in others ? With what effect can we pronounce the eulogium of free institutions, when our utterance is mingled and confounded with the accents of oppression and servitude ? We have, unquestionably, a justification in the fact, that slavery was imposed upon us, against our wishes, during our dependence upon a foreign state : but this circumstance will cease to be a justification the moment we falter in our exertions to redress the injury.

In speaking these sentiments, I say nothing to which the sentiments of every liberal gentleman in the south will not respond. Nor do I fear, sir, that their utterance here will be misapprehended. I believe the universal feeling of this assembly will bear me out in saying, that the slave-holding states themselves would not be more ready than us to resist any attempt to exterminate the unquestionable evil of slavery by measures not warranted by the constitution, under which we live. That it has been abolished with us, is the happiness of our accidental position : that it still exists in other sections of the union, is the misfortune of theirs. When and in what manner it shall be abolished within the limits of individual states, must be left to their own voluntary deliberations. The federal government has no control over this subject : It concerns rights of property secured by the federal compact, upon which our civil liberties mainly depend ; it is a part of the same collection of political rights ; and any invasion of it would impair the tenure by which every other is held. For this reason alone, if for no other, we would discountenance and oppose any attempt to control it by unconstitutional interference. We can only hope, in advocating the plan of colonization, that the theatre of its operations may be extended at a future day in subordination to the wishes and arrangements of the slave holding states.

There is a higher object in the contemplation—and I trust within the compass of this institution—the civilization of the African continent by means of our own colonial establishments along the coast. With the exception of a few points along the Mediterranean, hardly extending into the interior sufficiently to indent it, this continent has been buried, throughout all the changes of human society, in perpetual darkness. Whatever civilization may have done for other portions of the earth, it has done nothing for Africa. Ignorance and barbarism, opposing an impenetrable cloud to the lights of religion and science, which have at different eras risen upon the world, have spread a vast, unbroken shadow over the whole face of that continent. Civilization has indeed visited Africa—not to elevate and enlighten, but to corrupt and debase—to convert simplicity into error, and darkness into depravity. Sir, we are accustomed to shrink with horror and indignation from a recital of the cruelties inflicted upon modern Greece by her barbarous oppressors. But all the miseries which that classical region has endured during century after century of Ottoman domination, would not fill up the measure of suffering which Africa is every year sustaining, through the seductions of her christian spoilers. The massacre of Scio may present a sublimity of suffering, an acuteness of distress, a fullness of desolation, which carry their appeals to the sympathies with greater boldness and intensity of solicitation. But they do not all compose an aggregate like that which a single slave-ship presents in the history of its miserable tenants, if we follow them out from the forcible separation to the prolonged, the boundless career of servitude, which opens on them at the hour of their captivity. Civilization alone can heal the wounds and assuage the sufferings of Western Africa. Wherever her influence is felt, the slave trade has ceased: and it is in the most benighted regions of that continent that she can most effectually plant those beacons of intelligence, from which her lights are to be reflected to the interior.

Egypt and Barbary are shut out from the approaches of civilization in the direction of the European continent, by an intervening sea : they lie over against portions of Europe, in which knowledge and truth have made the least progress : and these barriers between the two continents are rendered almost insurmountable by false systems of religion and government, which hold in bondage the African states. Colonization, on the other hand, has fixed her seat in the very empire of ignorance : she is surrounded on all sides by a surface of extended, unbroken, unmitigated darkness. The mind of Western and Central Africa is a vast blank, upon which no inscription of falsehood or bigotry has ever been traced : civilization, in asserting her dominion over it, has no error to eradicate or prejudice to subdue : there is no obstacle to stay, the progress of knowledge : Nigritia, Ethiopia, and Abyssinia, are all open to its approaches ; and the time may not be far distant when the lights of civilization, issuing from the beacons of Montserrado, shall be diffused over the whole face of the African continent—to change it, as they have changed every region, which their influence has overspread.

These anticipations may seem sanguine ; and they are, doubtless, to be contemplated rather in a spirit of distant hope than of present expectation. They look, however, to changes inferior, if possible, to those, which the same causes have wrought upon this continent. If any one had ventured a century ago to extend his view to the present moment, and had foretold what this age has accomplished, he would have incurred the reproach of visionary speculation. Nay, sir, what credit would he have obtained, who had ventured to foretell twenty years ago, the changes which have been wrought within our own limits ?—Who had predicted, that, in this short period, the Western wilderness would be penetrated and subdued ; that the boundaries of the republic would be borne onward to extremities, which were not even explored, and that a line of civilization would be extended around us, which can never be broken by a hostile force ? Sir, the opinion of

mankind has always followed the march of improvement ; and it is rarely even that individual opinion has preceded it. The civilization of Africa may be frustrated by unforeseen contingencies ; but a moral power is in operation there, which no obstacle has ever yet been able to resist. The stores of knowledge, unlike all others, can neither be wasted nor consumed : no future deluge of vandalism can overwhelm the places of her dominion to destroy her treasures or extinguish her lights. The physical annihilation of three quarters of the globe would be necessary to blot out the evidences of her moral conquests and arrest their extension to the other. Since the invention of the press the movement of society has been uniformly a forward movement, and there is not an instance of retrogression with any people, to whom the influence of knowledge has extended. Her empire is fixed in Africa, and it will soon be beyond the reach of human force. Our anticipations may not all be realized ; our hopes may not all be fulfilled : but if we err, we shall err with the spirit of the age—not in opposition to it. If the objects in view of the plan of colonization were to be attempted by a public sacrifice, we should not, perhaps, be justifiable in seeking to accomplish them. But every step we take is in coincidence with the public interest and the public reputation. Every liberated African, who is withdrawn from us, diminishes the general mass of ignorance, vice and degradation, by which our social operations are embarrassed and oppressed. We are fulfilling also a duty, which we owe to the unfortunate race, for whose benefit this institution was originally designed. Whatever we have done, whatever we may do, to ameliorate their condition among us, they are destined to be for ever proscribed and debased by our prejudices. Emancipation cannot liberate us from the responsibility, which rests upon us. The free black, whom prejudice consigns to a moral debasement in the north, is as deeply injured as the slave, who in the south is held in physical bondage. We cannot insist on the plea of necessity to mitigate the odium, which attaches to us as the authors of his degradation, until we shall have employed every expedient to re-

lieve him from it. The hopelessness, in which his crimes and his deprivation have their origin, is in its turn a fruit of our prejudices : and we shall not have done what is incumbent on us, unless our co-operation is lent to remove him from the theatre of their influence. We are bound by every principle of justice and humanity to provide the means of removal for all, who ask a removal at our hands. We are bound by every motive of patriotism to promote the emigration of a caste, whose presence among us is an impediment to the developement of our national resources ; to the progress of our social improvements, and to the fulfilment of our destinies as a great people. And we are bound by our devotion to the cause of liberal government to *unite* in the execution of a plan of which the most distant result may be the extinction of an institution, which stands alone and isolated among the other institutions of society—A SOLITARY MONUMENT OF A BARBAROUS AGE.

Mr. GERRIT SMITH, of Madison county, followed. He glanced at the condition of Africa, when she had within her limits civilization and commerce and science and the christian religion. He turned to her present debased and miserable state, and inquired what could be done to raise her from it ; and especially what agency the people of the United States were bound to have in producing her regeneration. He could see no hope for Africa but in the success of the colonization scheme. In that success, and there only, could he see the abolition of the mighty slave trade, which defies all laws and treaties. No where, but from settlements of christian freemen on her western coasts, could the blessings of civilization and christianity be spread over that vast continent. The Mahometan faith of the Barbary states, was an impassable wall to shut out these blessings from her on the north—and the nations that border her on the east, were sitting in the same region and shadow of death with herself.

Among the many reasons, which Mr. Smith urged why

our country should engage promptly and liberally in this work of restoring Africa to her place among the nations of the earth, was the one, that the condition of Africa, just in proportion as it is improved, will reflect beneficial influences on our own country, and particularly and indispensably on the direct operations of the Colonization Society. As Africa rises in the scale of improvement and sends out over the earth a respect for her name and her people, so shall we look with increasing interest and sympathy upon her degraded children that are cast on our own shores. And just in proportion, as she emerges from barbarism and puts on the garments of civilization, will she attract our coloured people to return to her, and dispel the dread, which is now so common amongst them of emigrating to a land of barbarians.

At the close of his address, Mr. Smith offered the following resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Hammond, and unanimously adopted by the Society.

“Whereas the removal from the United States of our rapidly increasing free black population is, both politically and morally, a measure of the most urgent necessity : And whereas private benevolence, generously and successfully, as it has entered upon this measure, is nevertheless not to be relied on for the full accomplishment of it :

“*Resolved*, therefore, That the managers of this auxiliary Society prepare a memorial to the Legislature of this state ; and invite the immediate publication of it in all the newspapers printed in the state.

“*Resolved*, That this memorial shall not be presented to the legislature, until its next session ; to the end, that there may be opportunity for public opinion to pronounce on its merits ; and that they, who shall legislate on it, may have the benefit of knowing the views and wishes of their constituents in relation to it.

“*Resolved*, That the memorial shall pray the legislature to aid in the removal of that portion of our free black

population desirous to remove to Africa, by enacting a law, which shall appropriate a sum of money towards it annually for ten years : and the memorial shall suggest to the members of the legislature, as another safeguard against extending their munificence to this object beyond the approbation of their constituents, the propriety of having this sum exceed in no one year the amount of the contributions within that year of the citizens of this state to the same object.

“ *Resolved*, That the managers call earnestly on the citizens of this state to petition the legislature, at an early period of its next session, in behalf of the objects of the above memorial.”

The Meeting then re-appointed the following gentlemen Officers of the Society for the following year :

JOHN SAVAGE, *President*.

Vice-Presidents.

1st district—	JAMES MILNOR,
2d “	N. P. TALLMADGE,
3d “	ELIPHALET NOTT,
4th “	LUTHER BRADISH,
5th “	GERRIT SMITH,
6th “	SAMUEL NELSON,
7th “	N. W. HOWELL,
8th “	DAVID E. EVANS.

Managers.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,	JABEZ D. HAMMOND,
HARMANUS BLEECKER,	JOHN WILLARD,
CHARLES R. WEBSTER,	RICHARD YATES, <i>Treasurer.</i>
RICHARD V. DEWITT, <i>Secretary.</i>	

And thereupon the meeting adjourned.

Monies received by the Treasurer of the New-York State Colonization Society, since the organization of the same in April, 1829.

DONATIONS FROM LIFE MEMBERS.

Gerrit Smith,	\$ 20 00
Richard V. De Witt,	20 00
Benjamin F. Butler,	20 00

OTHER DONATIONS.

Reuben Tower,	5 00
A. Vanderpool,	2 00

ANNUITIES COLLECTED FROM MEMBERS, 6 00

RECEIVED FROM COLLECTIONS IN CHURCHES.

Collection made in the Sabbath Schools of Hudson, on 4th July,	25 00
Do. made in the 1st Presbyterian Church, Albany, 5th July,	35 43
Do. made in the Dutch Church at Schenectady, 4th July,	10 25
Do. made in the Rev. J. B. Pierce's church, Trenton, Oneida county, 5th July,	5 00
Do. made in the Rev. Mr. Burt's church, Great Barrington, Mass. 5th July,	9 13
Do. made in the Methodist congregation, Watervliet, 5th July,	7 77
Do. made at Waterloo, Seneca county, 4th July,	7 25
Do. made at La Fayette, 4th July,	5 00
Do. made in the Rev. J. V. Henry's church, Ballston,	19 21
Do. made in the Rev. Mr. Kirk's church, Albany,	25 00
Do. made in the Presbyterian Church, Milton,	3 00
Do. made in the Rev. Mr. Switzer's church, New-Woodstock, Cazenovia,	7 00
Do. made by Baptist & Presbyterian congregations, Syracuse,	32 30
Do. made at Pompey Hill,	6 00
Do. made in the Presbyterian Church, Kingsborough,	12 00
Do. made in the Presbyterian Church, Amsterdam,	5 42
Do. made at Lavonia,	20 23
Do. made at Richmond,	1 60
Do. made at Orangeville,	5 17
Do. made by Grand Jury at Constable,	3 00
Do. made in Presbyterian Church, Constable,	3 00
Do. made at Stockton,	2 32
Do. made in the Congregational Church, Hinsdale, Mass.	15 50
Do. made in the Presbyterian Church, Canandaigua,	40 00
Do. made in the Baptist Church, Maryland, Otsego county,	3 51
Do. made in the Church at Malone,	5 00
Do. made in the Churches at Lee and Ainsville, Oneida county,	4 00
Do. made in the 1st Presbyterian Church, Ithaca,	25 25
Do. made in Associate Reformed Church, Melytown, Orange county,	3 25
Do. made in the Associate Reformed Church, Newburgh,	18 00
Do. made in the Presbyterian Church, Binghampton,	32 63
Do. made in the Presbyterian Church, Peterboro,	10 00
Do. made in the Presbyterian Church, Rushville, 4th July,	9 00

489 22

Disbursements during the same time have been as follows : viz.

Cash paid upon the order of R. Smith, Treasurer of the American Colonization Society, at Washington,	300 00
Cash paid Websters & Skinners, for printing, &c. as per order, dated Nov. 27, 1829,	40 50

Whole amount disbursed,	340 50
Balance in hands of Treasurer,	148 72

\$489 22

At a meeting of the Managers of the New-York State Colonization Society, held on the sixth day of April, 1830, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Managers and of the Society they represent, be presented to those Ministers who delivered discourses within this state, during the last year, in aid of African colonization ; and that a printed copy of the proceedings of the Society and this resolution, be transmitted to each of them.

To the People of the State of New-York :

The preceding pages contain some notices of the present condition of the American colony on the coast of Africa, together with some of the arguments, by which its claims upon the patronage of the American people, are illustrated and enforced. Since the meeting, of which they contain an account, was held, intelligence of the most interesting and encouraging character has been received from Africa. The Liberia which sailed in January last, arrived at Monrovia on the 27th of February. The Liberia Herald of the 6th of March, states that the emigrants by this vessel are all in good health, and are temporarily located in convenient houses at Caldwell. It appears from the same paper and from other sources of information, that the subject of education engages much attention, and that efforts are making to furnish more extensively than they have heretofore existed, the means of instruction ; that a road has recently been opened into the interior from which much increase of trade and other advantages are anticipated ; that a vigilant police is kept up, and justice regularly administered ; that the trade of the colony is active and beneficial ; and that the colonists, contented with their condition and happy in the enjoyment of private and public liberty, are making distinguished efforts to improve and elevate their infant republic.

The advantages which may be expected to result to our own country, from the removal of our free coloured population, are too obvious to require comment ; but it would be taking too narrow a view of the subject were we to confine the benefits of African colonization, to our own country or the present age. The establishment of a civilized community on the slave coast, and the introduction of knowledge, christianity and freedom into that region of barbarism, may justly be ranked among the most important movements of the present age. We therefore earnestly solicit the co-operation and patronage of the people of New-York. As yet we have done but little, as a state, in aid of this object ; although several individuals have devoted to it much of their attention, and we have gratefully to acknowledge the contributions of several congregations during the last year. By recurring to the foregoing statement, it will be seen that the collections taken up in thirty congregations, amounted to nearly \$400, being an average of \$13 each. There are in this state more than 1500 religious societies. A collection of the like amount, in each of them, on the ensuing Fourth of July, would produce a sum, honorable to our state and most useful to the parent institution—and this without inconvenience to ourselves, or prejudice to other objects of benevolence. May we not hope that a measure so simple, but at the same time so full of benefit to ourselves and others, will be generally adopted ? Will not the intelligent, the patriotic and the warm-hearted people of New-York, take pleasure in furthering the great work thus presented to their patronage ? We trust they will. Indeed, when we remember that the approaching anniversary of our National Independence, will be also the Christian Sabbath, and that the combined influence of religion and patriotism will then appeal to the bosoms of our citizens, we cannot but hope that a simultaneous and honorable effort will be made on that day in aid of this cause.

Impressed with these sentiments, we do respectfully, but urgently, request the several religious communities within

this state, and the clergy of all denominations, to take measures for presenting this subject to their respective congregations on Sunday the Fourth day of July next, and for taking up collections on that day in aid of the American Colonization Society. The monies so to be collected, may either be forwarded directly to the Parent Society at Washington, or to Richard Yates, Esq. Cashier of the New-York State Bank, and Treasurer of this Society, at the pleasure of the donors.

We beg leave also to urge upon the friends of this cause, the utility and importance of establishing Societies in the different counties, auxiliary to this Society, with a view to the general diffusion of information on the subject of African Colonization, and to the adoption of vigorous measures in its support. Indeed, without the assistance of such institutions, it will be difficult for the State Society to call out and to concentrate the energies of their friends in the interior. The form of a constitution will be found in the second page, to which it is only necessary to add, that whenever an Auxiliary shall be formed, notice thereof, with the names of its officers, should be transmitted to the Secretary of the State Society.

In conclusion, the undersigned repeat their deep conviction, that the happiness and fame of our beloved country, and the present and future welfare of large portions of the human race, are so intimately connected with the subject of their present appeal, as to justify and to demand, in the judgment of reason and humanity, the warmest feeling and the most active exertions.

JOHN SAVAGE, President.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,	} Managers.
HARMANUS BLEECKER,	
CHARLES R. WEBSTER,	
JABEZ D. HAMMOND,	
JOHN WILLARD,	

R. V. DE WITT, Secretary of the
New-York State Colonization Society.

Albany, May 20, 1830.